

**Comintern 7th World
Congress Part 14: Unity Against
the National Government**

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**UNITY Against the National Government
HARRY POLLITT'S SPEECH
at the Seventh World Congress**

COMRADES,—The British delegation is in complete agreement with the historic report delivered to the 7th Congress of the Communist International by Comrade Dimitrov, and expresses its deep conviction that this report and the accompanying resolution, if concretely applied, open out before the whole working class of every capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial country in the world entirely new perspectives of advance in the struggle against capitalist attacks, Fascism and War. It is a report that will take the international labour movement a big step forward to overcoming the split created in 1914 by the war policy of the Social Democrats.

In my speech on behalf of the British delegation I shall, after some introductory remarks, deal briefly with the position of the Communist International and the Second International, the problem of broadening out the united front, and then endeavour to show how the line of Comrade Dimitrov's report and the resolution should be applied to our special problems in Britain, and what should constitute the next tactical line of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

The whole character of the present international situation makes the question of developing the widest forms of united front struggle, with the revolutionary working class as its indestructible fighting core, the most urgent political task before the Communist International and all its Sections.

The 7th Congress of the Communist International has to work out in this situation a new application of the united front tactics that can conform to the varying conditions of the different countries, and that by their flexibility and concrete character, become the most powerful weapons in breaking down the barriers that still exist to the development of a fighting united class front.

A general urge and desire for unity was expressed throughout the Labour movement after the German events, but the concrete task of realising the united front in action, both in the Fascist and in the democratic countries, showed how deep the split created by Social Democracy had gone and how high the barriers were that existed between the organised Social Democratic and Communist workers.

The 7th Congress has to face the fact that, in spite of all that the Sections of the Communist International have done in building up the united front against the attacks of capital and the menace of Fascism and War; in spite of the successes that have been achieved in this direction, especially in France—taking the situation as a whole—we are only at the very beginning of developing the kind of

broad, mass, militant, all-embracing united front that the whole character of the international situation demands.

In this period of maturing revolutionary crisis and of a new round of revolutions and wars, when the inner and external contradictions of capitalism continually sharpen; when a deep process of revolutionisation and destruction of reformist illusions is taking place amongst the working class; when the class struggle takes on sharper and higher forms than ever before, as seen in Austria and Spain; when the influence and authority of the Soviet Union, the mighty fortress of the world revolution amongst millions of toilers, increases every day—in this period great revolutionary perspectives open out before the whole working class.

But their realisation depends upon how effectively we can strengthen and develop the united front movement. The experience in France, and the tremendous political influence our French Party now wields, is the most convincing demonstration that the united front strengthens the working class fight, strengthens the forces for Communism, leads to the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Soviet Power.

Comrade Dimitrov was a hundred times right when in his article last November on "The Struggle for the United Front" he stated:

"The formation and strengthening of the united proletarian front is now the *main link* in the preparation of the world proletarian revolution."

The Communist International and the Second International

During the fight to realise the united front, initiated and led by the Communist International, there has unquestionably been a striking growth in the influence of the Communist International amongst the workers of all countries, and an equally striking decline in the influence of the Second International.

Without in any way attempting to overestimate the influence of Social Democracy, we must nevertheless recognise that immediately after the German events there was a strong tendency to believe that Social Democracy, especially in Germany, was finished.

Many times this was expressed in a crude way that only antagonised Social Democratic workers, who saw in the coming to power of Hitler the destruction and suppression of *their* party, trade unions and co-operatives, which tens of thousands of serious and honest workers had so patiently built up through years of self-sacrifice in the hope and belief that they would lead the way to Socialism.

In the working out of our tactics and our aim to win the Social Democratic workers, we have to take note of this lesson.

Whilst there is a general desire for unity, expressing itself amongst wide masses of the workers, there is still confusion and wrong conceptions as to how it can be realised in practice. In the countries where Social Democracy is still strong, as in Britain, masses of workers believe that unity in the fight against capitalism can best be achieved through the medium of the Social Democratic organisations. The Social Democratic leaders distort the desire for unity in struggle into a passive conception of unity, of a belief in waiting for the elections, as opposed to the Communists' conception of the united front of all the workers and their various organisations, as the indispensable weapon in every phase of the daily class struggle.

The more serious-minded workers in the Second International are realising in increasing numbers that the main obstacle to the realisation of the united front is the policy of their old leaders.

The movement for the united front which developed out of the line laid down in the Communist International Manifesto of March, 1933, had by 1934 led to a situation where a number of Social Democratic Parties had already concluded united front agreements with the Communist Parties, in spite of the ban placed upon such agreements by the Second International. This was a break in the wall of opposition, and the Communist Parties in the countries where such agreements have yet to be realised (and especially in Britain and the Scandinavian countries) have not made the fullest use of it amongst the masses in the fight against the Social Democratic leaders' opposition.

There have been certain limitations in the character of such united front agreements, and there have been opportunist distortions in some cases in carrying them out, but they have given an important demonstration of the sincere desire of the Communist Parties to establish the united front, even on the most modest and limited basis, and brought our Parties into a more living and intimate contact with workers still under the influence of Social Democracy than has been achieved before.

The Communist International again last October, in connection with the Spanish events, demonstrated to the toilers of the whole world its unshakable determination to leave no stone unturned in its efforts to support the Spanish workers in their heroic fight against Fascism, by the character of the appeal it made to the Second International for united action in support of the Spanish workers.

The Second International rejected this proposal, but the fact that it was compelled to lift the ban on any of its affiliated sections concluding united front agreements with the Communist Parties, and also the Minority Declaration made by representatives of several Social Democratic Parties in favour of united action with the Communist International, indicated the growing mass movement for the

united front and the pressure it was exerting upon the Social Democratic leaders.

This Minority Declaration with all its limitations, and bearing in mind that it did not correspond to the actual deeds of certain of the leaders, was nevertheless an important political act. It revealed the open breach that had been made inside the leading circles of the Second International, and the Communist Parties failed to make sufficient use of this declaration.

The Paris Conference of the Second International was treated by the Communist Parties as if nothing had happened, as if no change had taken place, with the result that both the character of the appeal of the Communist International, and its reactions inside the ranks of the Second International itself, have already been forgotten, which is precisely what the leaders of the Second International want, especially when so shortly afterwards Vandervelde and Citrine, the two principal opponents of the international united front, are suitably rewarded by their respective governments: Vandervelde becoming a Minister in a capitalist government and Citrine being made a Knight of the British Empire.

We must correct even now this weakness in our fight for the united front, and make the fullest use of the Paris Conference in the light of the changes that have taken place since then.

This 7th Congress of the Communist International is being eagerly followed by millions of workers all over the world, by our capitalist enemies, and by the leaders of Social Democracy.

This Congress, which may be the last before a new world war breaks out, or new revolutionary battles develop, is making the united front one of its central questions. It is laying down how there can be a new application of united front tactics for a considerable period ahead for all its Sections in the capitalist countries.

It is doing this when the horrors of the last world war are being sharply remembered on the occasion of the 21st anniversary of the outbreak of that war. We all recognise we are living in an eve of war situation. We all recognise how rapidly the capitalists are preparing for the new war.

How long before the new world war starts? This is the thought dominating the minds of millions of humanity.

And because of this fact, the British delegation welcomes that part of the Resolution where it states:

"The 7th Congress of the Communist International considers that unity of action is an urgent necessity and also the surest way to bring about the political unity of the proletariat, and on behalf of all Sections of the Communist International declares that they are ready to begin immediate negotiations with the corresponding Sections of the Second International to bring about the unity of

the working class in the struggle against the offensive of capital, Fascism and the menace of imperialist war, and likewise that the Communist International is prepared with this end in view to enter into negotiations with the Second International."

The lead now being given by the 7th Congress of the Communist International will receive a great volume of support in every reformist organisation. The Second International is not in a position to give the answer again that it made at the Paris Conference. The campaign for the building up of the united front in the capitalist countries, alongside the campaign for its realisation on an international scale, will bring to its support big sections of working men and women who are hoping that such a lead will be given by this 7th Congress.

At the same time it needs to be emphasised that whilst such approaches at the top are important, experience has shown that only the most stubborn and patient work in establishing the united front with the Social Democratic workers in the factories, trade unions and working class localities, gives the final guarantee for the overcoming of the opposition of the Social Democratic leaders.

Broadening Out the United Front

We have now such rich experiences in our fight to build up the united front that if they are carefully noted we can avoid many mistakes made in the past and eradicate present weaknesses in our work, thus strengthening the whole class character of the united front, and at the same time winning into active participation important sections of the petty bourgeoisie.

Especially must we combat the tendency to generalisation in the carrying through of the fight for the united front; we must take into account, in the formulation of our tactics, slogans and organisational forms, the actual concrete situation that obtains—not only in the country as a whole, but in every factory, industry, trade union and working class locality.

We are too content to believe we can easily win the support of the workers by a general appeal for the united front against the attacks of capital, fascism and war. Alongside this, the question of the united front is often placed in an abstract way, and unity looked upon as a thing in itself. Whereas, if we take as our starting point the fact that the united front is the class front of the workers, drawing all into the common action to defend *their* wages and conditions, *their* unemployment benefits, *their* rights and liberties, *their* fight against rapacious landlords, to defend *their* trade unions and co-operatives, that it is to protect *their* homes and families from the horrors of Fascism and War—if we can get it understood in this

light, then we shall soon see an improvement in every phase of united front activity.

We must learn to utilise every opportunity to get workers acting together on any issue, however apparently "small," as a means of linking this up with the larger political issues as a whole. I have in mind how in London one local organisation of the Communist Party acted jointly with the local Labour Party on the question of the closing of a children's playground (the children being forced to play in the streets, with all its attendant dangers). Our comrades were able, through this campaign, to break down many barriers that existed between the Communist and Labour Party workers, and to carry forward the united front on other wider political issues.

Another example on this same question of safety for children in the streets is where a Communist local in the East End of London described a particularly dangerous road as "The Death Road for Children." The phrase caught on. Thousands of workers signed petitions for increased safety precautions, local Ward Committees of the Labour Party were drawn into the fight, big meetings were organised; and in this way mass support was won for more effective participation of the workers' organisations on other issues.

WE CAN WIN NEW ALLIES

The fight against the cutting down of unemployment relief in Britain was undoubtedly one of the greatest mass united front fights the country has yet seen; it also forcibly demonstrated how new allies can be won for the united front against the worsening of the workers' conditions. This was particularly evident in South Wales, where not only every Miners' Lodge and Local and Divisional Labour Parties were drawn into the struggle, but every teacher, doctor, shopkeeper and clergyman.

Why? Because the teachers and doctors not only feel their work to be hard enough owing to the existing poverty and malnutrition, but also because the very character of their work brings them in such close contact with the workers' conditions. They see what capitalism is doing to the workers, and also how it limits and stultifies social and cultural development. This whole process and experience makes increasing numbers of them realise that their fight also lies alongside the working class, and they are therefore won for participation in such struggles as the fight against the Unemployment Act of the National Government.

This gives opportunities for closer contact, conversation and discussion with such people on the whole line of policy that the National Government is carrying out; it demonstrates to them the growing power of the workers, which in this instance forced the National Government to make substantial concessions to the unemployed. It gives opportunities for advancing the whole line of the

Communist Party amongst people with whom we have had little personal contact and who are generally hostile to Communism.

Only in the degree that the Communist Parties initiate and lead such struggles against starvation and malnutrition will such sections of the population be ready to support us in our whole fight against capitalism and be increasingly ready to go forward with us to realise our revolutionary aims.

The winning of all such sections of the population, together with the farmers, agricultural workers and all those who are against any restriction of what are described as "democratic rights," all those who hate and fear war, winning these as allies in the united front struggle, is vital for the Communist Parties and constitutes one of the most important political tasks.

It is also necessary to take more careful note of the process of differentiation that is taking place inside the Social Democratic Parties, the trade unions and Co-operative Movement.

The question was raised in a very timely way in an article in the *Communist International* magazine, where it was stated:

"Under these conditions of the crisis of Social Democracy, we cannot assert that every Social Democrat making a step to the Left is only manœuvring. We must make a distinction now between the 'Left' Social Democrats in inverted commas—and those who are genuinely Left." ("From Stabilisation to the Second Round of Revolutions and Wars," C.I. Magazine.)

There is without question, within the ranks of the organisations referred to, a great process of disillusionment going on at the whole policy of class collaboration of Social Democracy. There is a greater readiness to argue and discuss questions of policy and line of fight with the Communists, where previously the bitterest hostility prevailed.

Especially is this so with the lower officials of these organisations. They are brought into closer contact with the effects of capitalist policy and how the line of the Social Democratic leaders has disorganised the workers' fight against it; they feel the mood of the masses more strongly than their leaders.

The winning of such workers and lower officials, making a clear line of differentiation between their sincere desire to move to the Left, and both the open reactionary leaders and "Left" leaders who only use demagogic phrases to deceive, must now be more convincingly undertaken.

We cannot continue to lump them all alike. The importance of winning such lower officials is very great.

The average trade union branch or district secretary wields very great influence. He is the person whom the members consult on a whole variety of questions such as wages, compensation, unemploy-

ment and sickness benefits. His advice on economic and political questions is often accepted without question. If in Britain we could only win a few hundred of such workers to support the united front, it would make an enormous difference to the whole question of developing the mass fight and the mass movement.

Similarly with secretaries of local Social Democratic organisations and Trades Councils and shop stewards. They represent in many ways key workers for the Communist Parties to win. With more flexibility in our tactics and especially our application of them, with a more comradely approach, with more expressions of readiness to work with such workers upon issues that *they* are particularly interested in, we can win them for the united front.

Winning the Youth

Equally important for the Communist Parties, in fact an obligatory task, is the question of winning the youth into the most active and enthusiastic support for the united front.

The youth to-day are not only the most cruelly exploited sections of the working class, they are menaced more by Fascism and War than any other section of the population.

What the Italian youth are just now experiencing in Abyssinia is a salutary reminder of the dangers confronting the young workers in other capitalist countries.

Never before has so much effort been made to win ideological influence over the young workers. Every capitalist and reformist party is seeking to win, and then abuse for their own purposes the confidence of the young workers.

The hundred and one ways in which through clubs, scouts, sport leagues, cinemas, training centres, attempts are being made to get across cunning propaganda for "Our Country and Flag," is being grossly underestimated by the Communist Parties, and especially by the Communist Party of Great Britain.

We are all apt to forget two important factors upon which the war-mongers and Fascists make full play. First, that a generation has grown up that knows nothing about the horrors and miseries of the last world war. Secondly, that a generation has grown up in a number of the principal capitalist countries that has never known what it is to have a job, or that has only blind alley employment.

Where the young workers have been won for the united front struggle or for the Young Communist League, they have shown themselves to be amongst the most militant and courageous fighters.

The Communist International and all its Sections must give much more support to the Young Communist International and its Sections. In this matter, the Communist Parties, and especially the Party leaders, must follow the example set by Comrade Stalin and

the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the attention they are now giving to the Y.C.L. of the Soviet Union.

A first important step in this direction would be if the Parties in formulating every phase of the united front campaign would take into special consideration the problems and demands of the young workers and incorporate them in the campaign. It cannot any longer be left to the Young Communist Leagues, it is our duty to lead the fight.

If it be true that there is unrest and discontent amongst the adult Social Democratic workers, it is doubly true of the young workers in the youth organisations of the Social Democratic Parties. Youth is not so susceptible to the propaganda of "wait till the elections"; it is eager, impatient, it wants to fight, it rebels against long drawn-out perspectives. Youth wants jobs and trades now. It doesn't want slave camps, it doesn't want war. But if the Communist Parties do not more effectively show the way forward through which the young workers' demands can be achieved; if they do not fight for the rights of the young workers in the factories and trade unions, if they do not relate these things to the fight for the overthrow of capitalism, and show the glorious future for young workers in the epoch of Socialist Construction, then we leave the way wide open for the war-mongers and Fascists to influence the young workers with their jingoism and Fascist demagoguery.

Especially is it necessary to combat jingoism amongst the youth and to destroy the slanderous canard that "the Communists are friends of every country but their own." There is now more need than ever to popularise the history of our own country and recall all the great traditions and names that have been associated in the past in the fight for progress and the fight for democratic rights. We must prove that we love our country so well, that our lives are dedicated to removing all the black spots on its name—to removing poverty, unemployment and the bloody oppression of colonial peoples.

Nowhere more than in England does the bourgeoisie use jingoism and patriotism to justify and increase its exploitation and subjugation of other peoples, and first of all the British people themselves.

We must show that the working class is the true custodian of the honour and rights of the British people, and that it alone can abolish the effects of years of conquest and material and mental enslavement of the British people, and destroy the causes of the present justified hostility of Indian, African, Egyptian and Irish peoples, by ensuring fullest support in all their present struggles and assisting in their revolutionary struggle for complete liberation from British imperialism.

This must be our reply to the Silver Jubilee propaganda of the

National Government and the jingo demagoguery of the Beaver-brooks and Rothermeres and Mosleys.

We must fill the young workers especially with such a hatred of those who have despoiled our country and enslaved its working population and colonial peoples that they will give to the workers' struggle against Fascism and War all the revolutionary energy, ardour and daring that is synonymous with youth and thus strike powerful blows against jingoism and for proletarian internationalism.

Against the bourgeois jingoism associated with buccaneers, bandits and imperialist conquerors, against their bloody Waterloos, Sedans, Verduns, the Communists must counterpose the heroes of the past and present—Liebknecht and Luxemburg, Lenin and Stalin, Dimitrov and Thaelmann, the heroes of the Chelyuskin and other Soviet heroes now blazing new triumphs for Socialism.

WOMEN AND THE UNITED FRONT

Especially now also does the question of winning women workers and women from the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie become doubly important and new methods must be worked out to draw them into active co-operation with the male workers in all struggles against the worsening of conditions, and against Fascism and War.

It is a commonplace that the working women are the most cruelly exploited and that for them both Fascism and War bring a terrible menace. But we insufficiently realise the power that can be brought to the united front by women workers, who are amongst the most militant sections of the working class.

This stands out more clearly than ever before, after the class battles in Austria and Spain and the big mass movements in France and Britain in which women have taken a particularly important part.

If we made a careful analysis of who is most active in the various peace movements that exist, we should find that the majority are women. Similarly in Labour Party Women's Sections, in certain trade unions and in the Co-operative Guilds, we shall find an increasing revolt taking place against the whole policy of class collaboration of the Labour leaders.

Therefore, in the working out of our programmes and demands upon which the united front movement is organised, we must pay particular attention to formulating them in such a way as to attract the widest numbers of working women and others who are against Fascism and War.

We wish to emphasise that this point is not being made just for the sake of making a reference to the question, but because if we can organise women's hostility to poverty, Fascism and War in a common front, it means a big strengthening of the whole working

class fight. We also draw the attention of the women comrades in the Communist Parties to the contempt for work among women which prevails very largely in their ranks, the removal of such contempt would help to win the women workers for activity in the united front movement.

The realisation of this fight to broaden out the united front struggle and to make it all-embracing in such a way that it can win to its support, not only the organised workers, but every democrat and lover of peace, all sections of the petty bourgeoisie, thus developing a powerful mass anti-fascist, anti-war people's front, now makes the question of leadership more important and decisive than ever before.

If we can rapidly adapt our tactics to the changing situations that are continually arising; correctly formulate slogans that absolutely correspond to the requirements of the situation and the burning needs of the workers, slogans for the realisation of which every worker will feel that he must fight; if we are not hesitant in changing slogans that are out of date, that do not apply to the situation, if the Communist Parties, whilst avoiding opportunist mistakes, display a greater readiness to take the plunge; if we strengthen by every conceivable way our contact with the masses, making it more intimate and binding; if we more quickly develop new leading forces, fearlessly promoting to the leading positions those who in the mass struggle are producing the best results, and use their experiences for higher leading work, if in deeds we *prove* to the workers that we are the best leaders and fighters for the defence of their daily interests and relate this to our main slogan—Soviet Power and our fundamental principles—we shall soon see after this 7th Congress a speedy improvement in all forms of our daily activity and be able to realise the decisions of the 7th Congress in practice.

The United Front Against Fascism in Britain and the Tasks of the C.P.G.B.

The Communist Party of Great Britain has now a great responsibility both to the British working class and the whole Communist International, because of the leading position in world politics, occupied by British imperialism, and the fact that the British Labour leaders now represent the vanguard of the opposition to the united front in Britain and within the Second International.

TENDENCIES TOWARDS FASCISM IN BRITAIN

We can only speak of there being tendencies towards Fascism in Britain so far as the policy of the ruling class as expressed in the line

of its National Government is concerned. Nevertheless, these tendencies are significant, and the measure of what can easily follow as the difficulties of British imperialism increase, unless we can rapidly organise the united front in Britain.

The policy of the National Government is increasingly directed towards strengthening the executive and coercive apparatus of the State (its militarisation of the police, increased police powers in public meetings) limitation of working class rights of free speech, especially at Labour Exchanges, limitation of rights of anti-war propaganda (Sedition Act), and the extension of extra-parliamentary authorities with administrative powers over wide sections of the workers, institution of training camps and semi-military discipline, as provided for in the new Unemployment Act. These are all new developments of the powers previously existing in the Defence of the Realm Act, the Emergency Powers Act and the procedure known as Orders in Council, and considerably increase the repressive measures which can be directed against the working class.

Alongside this policy of the National Government there has developed since 1932 an open Fascist Party, with all the accompanying semi-military formations, known as the British Union of Fascists, led by Mosley, and lavishly supported by finance-capital.

The Mosley Fascist organisation, with its full-blooded advocacy of German Fascism, has conducted considerable propaganda which has met with tremendous hostility from the working class, that has undoubtedly struck this movement heavy blows, and so far prevented Mosley from establishing any sort of mass social basis.

The British ruling class hold Mosley in reserve while the National Government carries through its preparatory work, by its taking advantage of the mass hatred of Fascism as expounded by Mosley, to present its own policy as upholding all the traditions of British democracy.

The great weakness of the fight against Fascism in Britain is that it is seen largely as a fight against Mosley. The tendencies towards Fascism, developed in the policy of the National Government, are not seen as a vital danger that makes it imperative to defeat this government. The Labour leaders bear a heavy responsibility for this dangerous situation. We need to ceaselessly remind the whole working class movement of the line of German capitalism and German social democracy before Hitler came to power. *It is important to recall time and time again the slogan published across the front page of the "Vorwaerts" in Germany a few days before Hitler came to power in January, 1933, "Germany is not Italy."*

British Labour leaders to-day are never tired of saying that "Britain is not Germany." The moral must be made obvious to every British worker.

LABOUR LEADERS AND FASCISM

This attitude of the Labour leaders, both towards the Fascist tendencies of the National Government and against Mosley Fascism, is particularly dangerous. They have done everything in their power to disorganise and prevent the mass fight against Mosley Fascism from development, and when, in spite of this, heavy blows are struck at Mosley, they then come forward with the propaganda that Mosley is finished, and that Fascism cannot develop in Britain.

But as the difficulties of British imperialism increase, as the class contradictions sharpen, and the mass movement against capitalism grows more powerful with the ever-increasing approach to war, the British ruling class will intensify all their repressive measures against the working class, and advance more and more along the road to Fascism. Any attempts to lull the vigilance of the working class fight therefore at once renders important services to its class enemy.

EXPERIENCES IN BUILDING THE UNITED FRONT

In the fight to develop the united front movement in Britain, the Communist Party has had many varied experiences and succeeded on occasions in mobilising large sections of the working class under the banner of the united front in active struggle against the National Government.

The united front movement on a militant mass basis reached its highest point in the beginning of this year in the fight against the National Government's Unemployment Act.

The fight reached its greatest point in South Wales. In many of the mining valleys the majority of the population marched in the demonstrations—not once, but many times during the first three months of this year. Practically every trade union branch, Labour Party, Co-operative organisation and the Churches, traders and intellectuals, took part in the united front activity in the mining valleys. Labour M.P.s and trade union leaders (like Ernest Bevin) who had led the fight against the Communists, spoke on united front platforms for fear of losing their influence with the masses. The majority of the Miners' Lodges in the South Wales coalfield were in favour of a one-day protest strike. But the reformist leaders refused to consider this, and prevented measures being taken to organise strike action.

Even after the retreat of the National Government the struggle continued on a high level in South Wales for the complete withdrawal of the Unemployment Act. Councils of Action were established in most of the mining valleys, embracing all working class organisations and the vast majority of the population. The Communists were recognised as the driving force in the campaign—expressed in the fact that the Party membership increased three

times, and the Communist vote in the municipal elections nearly doubled. In the Rhondda—the heart of the South Wales coal-field—the Party membership increased almost four times, and the Communist vote in the municipal elections was 80 per cent. of the Labour vote, with several new Communist councillors being elected.

In such a favourable situation, how was it possible for the reformist leaders to prevent strike action? Why was the Party not able to carry the struggle forward a stage further to bring down the National Government? The main reason for this was the tendency to rely on the spontaneous mass feeling and indignation of the masses, the enthusiasm of the mass demonstrations, etc.—without at the same time winning the trade union branches and the employed workers to carry out the slogan of strike action as the next stage in the fight. There was instead a prevalent idea that the so-called Councils of Action had full authority to call strike action, to usurp the function of the trade unions. They were regarded by many comrades as something akin to Soviets. But while these so-called Councils of Action were adopting resolutions in favour of a one-day strike, the reformist leaders carried out their propaganda in the trade union branches and among the employed workers against strike action. This entirely wrong conception by the Communists led to the complete neglect of carrying out the essential task of winning the trade union branches and the employed workers, and enabled the reformist leaders to prevent the further development of the struggle.

But the whole mass movement grew so strong that finally the National Government was forced to make the most important concessions in the application of an Act of Parliament, which they had prepared for years and which they looked upon as a vital part of their offensive against the working class. It was a victory for united class action.

But our Party failed to prevent the concessions that were won from leading to a dampening down of the mass movement; we ourselves developed a feeling of self-satisfaction at the victory that had been achieved, and did not find the next link in the chain that would enable the spirit of victory that was prevalent in the working class movement, to take the struggle to a higher stage against the National Government.

The campaign against the attempt to deprive Communists of their democratic rights in the trade unions, as outlined in the document known as the "Black Circular," has met with striking success. It has been closely connected with our united front tactics, and up to date some of the most important trade unions in the country, representing a membership of 1,111,695, have refused to operate this "Black Policy" of the Trade Union Congress.

A leading article in the "Times," July 6, 1935, described the results of this campaign: "The Communists have undoubtedly won a tactical victory."

THE C.P.G.B. AND THE I.L.P.

It is necessary here to review briefly the experience in the united front activity carried on between the I.L.P. and the Communist Party since 1933. Without question there are many successes to record and important achievements to register. Great activity has been carried out by the two Parties in the fight against the National Government and the employers, against Fascism and War. Considerable sections of workers in the trade unions, Labour Party and Co-operative Guilds have been drawn into this work.

But the outstanding weakness of the united front campaign with the I.L.P. has been that it has been limited constantly to certain specific campaigns. It was not and is not now based upon daily joint mass activity in the factories, trade unions and working class localities.

Nor has the I.L.P. as a whole been fully mobilised to carry out in practice the united front campaigns that have been jointly agreed upon.

Ever since the I.L.P. left the Labour Party in 1932, a struggle over policy questions and international affiliations has been going on inside its ranks. There have been various groupings, the two outstanding ones being the Revolutionary Policy Committee, that was in favour of sympathetic affiliation to the Communist International, and the dominant group in the leadership, led by Brockway, who are against the Communist International, against the Peace Policy of the Soviet Union, and who support the International Bureau of the so-called "Left" Parties of the Second International and the Brandler and Lovestone renegades.

This group used the recent annual conference of the I.L.P. for a demonstration against the Communist International, and for splitting the I.L.P. Guild of Youth who had previously decided for sympathetic affiliation to the Young Communist International.

The Revolutionary Policy Committee continues to fight inside the I.L.P. for direct daily united front activity, for a united revolutionary Party affiliated to the Communist International. We have no doubt at all that they will win increasing influence over the best revolutionary workers inside the I.L.P. for their policy, which will lead to the strengthening of the ranks of all those fighting for a united Communist Party in Britain.

In spite of the weaknesses in the united front activity of the Communist Party and the I.L.P., and the deep differences in policy and tactics, it needs to be stated that what joint work has been carried out has met with big support from the workers.

WEAKNESSES IN THE UNITED FRONT ACTIVITY

In the carrying out of what has been achieved, we have also many serious weaknesses and mistakes to take note of.

There is still a lack of conviction amongst our Party members of the burning necessity of the united front, and that without its achievement in the present situation there can be no advance towards decisive revolutionary struggles. There is not yet sufficient tenacity and determination to realise the united front and break down all existing opposition.

The fight for the united front is treated too much as a fight for unity in the abstract, as a thing in itself; it is not related either to the situation as a whole or to our basic revolutionary aims.

There is great weakness in applying the tactic of the united front in the trade unions and specifically relating its application to the current issues in the factory, industry and trade union, so that we have not succeeded in organising a great united front campaign around the general demand for wage increases or the discontent with various forms of rationalisation, especially speeding-up systems. This is the reason why no big economic struggles have developed during the period when millions of trade unionists have been demanding wage increases. We have also been weak in our campaign for trade union unity both on a national and international scale.

Insufficient attempts have been made to formulate proposals that could attract the organised employed workers, so that when the mass movement has developed, it has been mainly around unemployment questions.

There has been a tendency to submerge our independent meetings and revolutionary propaganda and not to develop the united front struggle as the means of further advance towards revolution.

There has been too much self-satisfaction when results have been achieved, and failure to organise in a concrete manner the support that has been won to carry the fight forward, and to penetrate deeper into the ranks of the workers in the Labour Party, trade unions and co-operatives with our united front propaganda and proposals.

EXTENSION OF UNITED FRONT TO THE ELECTIONS

In analysing some of these weaknesses last September, and especially why we are not more successful in winning the organised Labour workers, we saw clearly that one of the reasons was because we were not in any way trying to apply the tactics of the united front to the elections.

It was clear that an extension of the tactics of the united front was necessary and that it must be done in such a way as to strengthen the whole working class fight against capitalism and especially against

the whole line of the capitalist parties in local and national government.

Therefore, during the municipal elections in November, the Party made an important extension of the united front policy.

Whilst putting forward its own candidates in places where it had a mass basis, the Party came forward with proposals to support Labour candidates who were prepared to fight for a united front programme. We tried to reach an electoral understanding with the I.L.P., to avoid rival candidates, and made proposals for workers' election conferences in places where a split vote might secure the return of a class enemy.

This line brought us into closer contact with such workers, and opened up negotiations with local Labour organisations for the first time in many years.

The united front experiences in the Municipal and Parliamentary by-elections have been an invaluable guide to our future tactics in Britain, for it is no chance coincidence that since the Party made this extension of the united front in the electoral field, there has been a considerable increase in the influence of the Party. This is seen in the votes in the elections; the fight against the "Black Circular"; the increased circulation of the "Daily Worker" and increased membership of the Communist Party.

But big obstacles remain to be overcome before we can have anything like the mass movement that the whole situation demands. One of the obstacles is the problem of breaking through the opposition of the Labour leaders, which still effectively holds back the workers under their influence from the common fight.

This is one of our most important problems. The Labour leaders not only lead the fight against the united front in Britain, but play the leading role inside the Second International and Amsterdam Trade Union International against international united action.

What is the main political reason for this opposition? It is because they recognise that the policy of the united front is that of active daily class struggle, that it strengthens the class front of the workers and opens up quite other perspectives than that of the policy of class collaboration and continuity of capitalism upon which their whole daily practice and policy is based.

We must find the ways and means of developing the mass movement so strongly that it can break through this opposition.

AN APPARENT CONTRADICTION

Bound up with this question is the problem of how to overcome the disparity which exists between the support given for Communists to have full democratic rights in the trade unions to carry out revolutionary mass work, as seen in the voting on the "Black Circular,"

and the opposition to working with the Communist Party as a Party in the united front movement. Many important trade unions, like the National Union of Railwaymen, have given large votes against the "Black Circular," and in the same conference given large votes against any united front with the Communist Party. We have to examine the reasons for this disparity and this contradiction.

There are many reasons for such an apparent contradiction: the traditional belief in the separation of industrial and political questions amongst sections of workers; acceptance of the Labour leaders' propaganda that the Labour Party, Trades Union Congress and Co-operative Party in themselves are the mass united front.

In the trade unions the Communists are welcome as the most energetic fighters. The workers see the Communists in the factories and trade unions battling away to defend working conditions, recruiting for the trade unions, developing rank and file movements, shop stewards' organisations; in fact, everything that makes for unity in the struggle against the employers *on economic questions*.

The workers also see the Communists as good fighters and leaders on *general class issues*, such as the fight against Fascism and against War, and against the National Government's economies at the expense of the workers in the unemployment and social services. There can be no doubt that already many thousands of active workers in the Labour Party, trade unions and co-operatives share the standpoint of a Labour Party councillor, who at the recent London District Congress of our Party said: "I am not in the Communist Party, but several of my colleagues and myself always look to the Communist Party for the right lead on every political issue." Nevertheless, even these workers who always follow our political leads do not see us, the Communist Party, as the immediate practical alternative government to the National Government.

Our own weakness in not giving continuous revolutionary political leadership to the whole fight, and our failure effectively to link up the "small" questions with the general political situation, also prevents the Communist Party from standing out before the workers in the factory and trade unions as the leader and organiser of the fight against the National Government. The workers many times say: "You Communists are all right on the industrial field because you try to unite the forces of the workers, but you only seem to want to split them in the elections."

It is true that the correction of our own mistakes and weaknesses will make a very big difference to the winning of mass support inside the trade unions, Labour Party and Co-operative Party, for the development of a mass united front embodying every section of the working class movement.

At the same time we need to consider what further must be done

in our application of the united front in Britain that can bring the Communist Party into closer daily contact with the workers organised in the Labour Party, Trades Union Congress and Co-operative Party.

Whatever proposals we advance must be of such a character as to remove every obstacle placed in the way by the Labour leaders to prevent the organising of the united front in all phases of the daily struggle against the employers and National Government. Proposals that can effectively convince the organised workers of the deep and sincere desire of the Communist Party to help forward this united movement and that can take out of the hands of the Labour leaders the weapons which they now use to prevent the united action of all working class organisations from being realised. If there is to be any successful organising of the next stages of the working class struggle in Britain, the Communist Party must become a recognised integral part of the existing working class movement, and we must develop our next steps in building up the united front in such a way as to bring this about.

The Communist Party must recognise that the most powerful way to defeat all existing opposition to the united front of all sections of the workers depends upon the initiative and leadership of the Party itself in leading the mass fight against the whole line and policy of the employers, landlords, bankers and their National Government, and especially the way the Communist Party organises its work in the factories, trade unions and working class localities, utilising every current issue of the workers' daily struggle, and relating this to the fight against the National Government.

The Communist Party in deeds must clearly stand out before every British worker as the leader and organiser of the defeat of the National Government. Such an objective, reflecting itself in our approach to all the existing problems of the workers, can and will become the main way in which the masses can be mobilised for common action, and any changes in our tactical line must facilitate the fulfilment of this aim.

THE COMING GENERAL ELECTION

At our 13th Party Congress, in February of this year, we worked out our united front tactics in relation to the coming General Election in Britain. The question is formulated as follows in the Congress Resolution on the united front:—

"The Communist Party stands for the defeat of the National Government and pledges itself to exert all its powers and influence to mobilise and unite the working class in the daily fight to bring down the National Government.

"It declares that in the coming General Election campaign the militant mass movement of the workers, based on the united front

for the most elementary and urgent demands of the workers, will sweep away the National Government, and secure the return, alongside a strong group of Communist candidates, of the maximum number of Labour members pledged to a united front of action for the elementary demands of the workers.

"In this way, while warning the workers that the possible coming to power of a Labour Government as a result of the defeat of the National Government brought about by united class action will not solve the main problems of the workers, nevertheless, the defeat of the National Government and the return of a Labour Government can become a powerful impetus and strengthening of the fighting spirit and class consciousness of the workers for winning their demands, and a starting point of advancing class struggle, against the class collaboration policy of the Labour leadership in the united front with Labour Party organisations and trade unions for revolutionary working class advance against the whole capitalist system."

Based upon our experiences, and the changes in the whole international situation which have taken place since February, it is clear that this formulation no longer meets the demands of the situation, or of the developments inside the working class movement itself. We have tended even to distort the Congress Resolution by a narrow interpretation that our whole aim at the coming General Election must be to defeat the National Government, and return a few Communists to Parliament, leaving the question of a Labour Government as an afterthought and burking the main issue which the situation presented to us.

What is new in the situation in Britain as compared with last February, when our 13th Party Congress took place? First, the whole character of the international situation with its increasing war tension; Abyssinia; Japan's war in China; conscription and ceaseless rearming in Germany. Second, developments in Britain itself. The White Paper on armaments, immediately followed by a threefold increase in Britain's air force, leading to a new world armament race. The jingo propaganda for national defence, carried through in the Jubilee celebrations, which not only strengthened the National Government's political preparations for war, but enabled it to improve its position with sections of the electorate. The new naval agreements with Germany which follow from the whole pro-Hitler policy. The rearming of Fascist Germany by the National Government.

Then the new Peace and Reconstruction movement of Lloyd George, who proposes to place hundreds of candidates in the field at the coming General Election, and whose demagoguery can play a considerable part in winning votes away from the working class political

parties, and prevent a decisive defeat of the National Government and the return of a Labour Government from taking place. Finally, the fact that the Labour Party itself is no longer fighting for power at the coming General Election, a feature of the present political situation in Britain that is acknowledged by every political observer.

This defeatism in no way corresponds with the mass hatred of the National Government, and the firm determination of the rank and file members of the Labour Party to defeat it in the General Election and return a Labour Government.

The Labour leaders realise the character of the present domestic and international situation, especially from the point of view of war, and a certain section of them, headed by Morrison, are preparing to collaborate in a National Government to take full part in that war. It is significant that Morrison, now the leading figure in the Labour Party, has never yet completely repudiated the statement of Garvin, the Tory Publicist, that in the event of war, "Morrison would join the National Government." Again, they feel the new class militancy that the workers are expressing in the elections, especially after the German, Austrian and Spanish events, the aim of the workers in voting Labour to-day being extremely different from the intentions of the leaders.

The workers will insist upon their demands being carried out no matter what conflict this causes with the capitalist class, and the Labour leaders fear the loss of influence they would subsequently experience, if they became a government on the basis of their present programme of capitalist continuity and class collaboration.

The position of the Labour Party will be still more sharply accentuated by the Lloyd George movement, which needs to be noted as a very dangerous manoeuvre, as one cannot forget Lloyd George's eulogies of Hitler, and his statement that the coming to power of Fascism in Germany saved Europe from Bolshevism.

The *Daily Herald* already strikes a dangerous note, as will be seen from the following extract from its leading article dealing with the Lloyd George Movement:—

"Declaring open war on the Government yesterday, Mr. Lloyd George outlined his plans for an election campaign on a national scale.

"He had much to say of his attitude to the Government. He had no word to say of his attitude to the Labour Party.

"Are Labour candidates to be fought by Lloyd George's candidates? If so, does Mr. Lloyd George believe that will help the unemployed?" (*Daily Herald*, July 23, 1935.)

Here is no recognition of Lloyd George as a dangerous enemy who will have to be fought. A capitalist politician preparing a mass

social basis in order at a later stage to perform even more important services to British imperialism than he did during the war.

The New Application of the United Front Tactics in Britain

The Communist Party must therefore fearlessly and boldly accept the responsibility placed upon it not only for giving the correct analysis in the present situation, but also showing the workers' hostility to the National Government and to bring about its decisive defeat and thus open up further perspectives of working class advance.

The Communist Party must at once strike the note, that in spite of the defeatism of the Labour leaders, and the manoeuvres of the Lloyd George Peace and Reconstruction Movement, the National Government can and must be defeated at the coming national elections.

The National Government has recently improved its position, by its last budget, concessions on the Unemployment Act, restoration of wage cuts to State employees, but especially by its Jubilee and National Defence propaganda. The recent reconstruction of the National Government is aimed to enable it to more effectively carry through its attacks on the workers and its drive towards Fascism and War.

This makes doubly urgent and imperative the task of organising the masses' opposition to the whole line and policy of the National Government in every phase of the daily struggle, thus strengthening the movement for its defeat at the General Elections.

In estimating the existing strength of the masses' hostility to the National Government and in working out our next steps, we need to take into account the fact that amongst the big majority of the British workers there are still strong reformist illusions, expressing themselves in a belief that any improvement in the workers' conditions, any attempts to prevent the advance of Fascism and war, can only be achieved through the formation of a Labour Government with a majority.

There are still strong tendencies to believe that "while revolution is all right in other countries, Britain is different and Socialism can be peacefully realised on the basis of parliamentary democracy."

These tendencies exist even amongst sections of workers who are most bitter in their denunciation of capitalism and in their active opposition to Fascism and War.

What must be the role of the Communist Party, and what must be the next steps in the organisation of the workers' fight against

capitalism and the National Government? We believe it should be as follows: The Communist Party in its revolutionary agitation and propaganda amongst the workers must popularise its revolutionary programme of Soviet power concretely applied to British conditions and industries as the *only way* in which all their basic problems can be solved and *bread, work and peace* guaranteed to the working population.

The Communist Party must patiently combat all reformist illusions, and help the workers to understand that only their class power can win their immediate demands and also carry through the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the transition from capitalism to Socialism.

But the principal political task of the Communist Party becomes clear. *It is to stand out before every working man and woman in Britain as the initiator and leader of the fight to secure the defeat of the National Government, by the organisation of a broad united front movement, based upon a programme of demands that every worker really believes can and must be carried through by a Labour Government, and which will strengthen the workers' immediate fight against capitalism and, putting a brake upon the advance of Fascism and War, will help the development towards Socialism.*

The Communist Party is of the opinion that there are certain demands which represent the main immediate interests of the working class and of all sections of the population who are opposed to war, Fascism and the reactionary policy of the National Government. We suggest that these demands should be the programme of the united class struggle now, in order to mobilise the widest sections against the National Government, and if the National Government cannot be forced to give way on these issues, at the same time they will become the central issues in the General Election campaign upon the basis of which a Labour Government can be elected to immediately put this programme into operation. The slogan: "*Down with the National Government! For the preservation of peace, democracy and the improvement of the conditions of the workers!*" must become the basis of all future struggles in the present situation in Britain.

Can the Communist Party fulfil this task? Yes. When the Communist Party has seriously set itself the task to achieve certain aims we have done it. On September 9, 1934, when Mosley was to make a national parade of his Fascist forces in Hyde Park, the Communist Party issued the slogan: "*Drown Mosley in a sea of working class activity!*" Under the leadership of the Communist Party 150,000 London workers did it!

When the Communist Party said that it could organise a mass move-

ment against the National Government and force it to capitulate on the most drastic provisions of its new Unemployment Act, we *did* mobilise that movement, we *did* force the Government to make the most important and significant concessions. And we declare now that the Communist Party of Great Britain can and will mobilise such a mass movement that at the coming General Election it will drown the National Government in a sea of working class activity.

It needs to be strongly emphasised that the defeat of the National Government will have to be organised. There is no automatic coming to power of a Labour Government. This demands on our part an end of all forms of passivity and "letting things take their course." The existence of such moods in the Labour movement, now carefully fostered by certain Labour leaders, only renders the task of the Communist Party in organising the defeat of the National Government more urgent and serious, and calls for the maximum effort.

A Labour Government, elected on the basis of united front struggle, opens up possibilities for more effectively supporting the workers' fight against Fascism in other countries, especially Germany, and, by the changes that would take place in the relation of forces in the present international situation, the abandonment of the present pro-Hitler foreign policy, closer relations with the Soviet Union and full identification with its peace policy, do much to check the further advance of Fascism and War, and prevent armed intervention in the event of the revolutionary crisis maturing to the point of a struggle for power in certain countries.

In fighting to achieve this aim, we can under no circumstances create any illusions about the character and policy of the present Labour programme, nor can we accept responsibility for any actions a Labour Government would carry out that are against the interests of the working class.

We are not putting the defeat of the National Government and its replacement by a Labour Government as an end in itself, *but as the means to an end*, through which the class fight of the workers is intensified and advanced to a higher stage, through the victory achieved over the National Government on the basis of a united struggle to achieve the workers' immediate demands and retard the advance of Fascism and War.

This policy has nothing in common with the support given to two previous Labour Governments by the Right opportunists in the Communist Party of Great Britain, and at the present stage fire will have to be directed against such elements in order that they will not attempt to see in this new tactical line of the Party the justification of their Right opportunism which brought about such serious consequences for the Party until decisive changes were made.

FOR AN ELECTION AGREEMENT

The Communist Party, consistent with its revolutionary principles, must do everything in its power to demonstrate to the masses its determination to secure the above objective. It must be prepared to take out of the hands of the Labour leaders the weapons which they now use to prevent the united front from being established on a class basis to defeat the National Government in the way we have indicated.

In order to do everything possible to organise the defeat of the National Government and Lloyd George's candidates in the elections, to avoid any splitting of working class votes in the elections, and to ensure an unceasing campaign, the Communist Party should propose a meeting with the Labour Party to discuss how best to achieve this, how jointly to formulate the united front programme around which the common fight can be organised.

The Communist Party will give its full support in the way of unceasing daily activity to secure the return of a Labour Government on this basis and will also propose that in a limited number of constituencies where the Communist Party has mass influence, and its candidates are known by every worker in the country to be the most fearless fighters against capitalism, War and Fascism, that the Labour Party should withdraw its existing candidates, even if at present they are already Members of Parliament. For the return of a group of Communist Members of Parliament would represent a tremendous strengthening of the forces that are consciously fighting against reaction in every form.

Even if the Labour Party refuses such an election agreement, the fight for its realisation must be carried forward in the factories, trade unions, Co-operative Guilds, local Labour Parties, and working class localities. The workers, through properly organised and accredited conferences, ballot votes in the factories and trade unions, must be given the opportunity of declaring their opinion on these questions and which candidate they consider can best fight to secure the realisation of their programme.

In the elections, the Communist Party, while putting forward its fundamental programme and aims, will mobilise all its units and workers under its influence to actively participate in the campaign around the united front programme being put forward as commonly agreed on by all working class organisations taking part.

The policy we are outlining here is one that will unite the widest masses in such a way as to strengthen the whole working class struggle, with the Communist Party as the revolutionary core, giving leadership and drive to the whole fight in relation to the demands of the present position in Britain itself and the international situation as a whole, and opening up before the whole working class

the possibility of greater revolutionary advances to the complete conquest of capitalism.

COMMUNIST PARTY AND AFFILIATION TO LABOUR PARTY

The British delegation is in complete agreement with that section of the 7th Congress Resolution which declares the readiness of all Sections of the Communist International to begin immediate negotiations with the various Social Democratic Parties in order to establish unity of the working class in the struggle against the establishment of capital, against Fascism and War.

The Labour leaders declare in expressing opposition to any form of united front action with the Communist Party, that the united front in Britain already exists in the Labour Party, Trades Union Congress, and Co-operative Party.

The wide masses of the workers believe this. Others sincerely believe that the Communist Party ought to be inside the Labour Party in order to force the Labour leaders to change their policy. There is still, especially inside the trade unions, the conception of the Labour Party as a broad federal organisation bringing together all the various working class organisations to protect the interests of the workers.

Under the growing pressure of the masses who desire the united front with the Communist Party, and especially since the striking successes of the united front movement in France, there has been a significant change in the attitude of certain Labour leaders in dealing with this question. It is now being attempted more and more to demonstrate how broad and all-embracing the Labour Party is.

We will give two examples. Harold Clay, a leading official in the Transport and General Workers' Union, and an executive member of the Labour Party, stated in a speech at the Biennial Conference of his trade union, in specific regard to the united front, the following:—

"If they could not through the broad stream of the Labour Movement win the things for which they wished, those things would not be won by splitting off bits here and there."

"If the movement was not going fast enough or if the direction was not quite right, then the pace could be accelerated and the direction changed by decisions within the Movement itself." (July 5, 1935.)

George Lansbury, the leader of the Labour Party, in a speech at Norwich on July 21, where the I.L.P. is opposing a Labour candidate, made what the *Daily Herald* describes as "a strong appeal for unity in the Labour Movement." Lansbury declared:

"We of the Labour Party in the House of Commons have our disagreements. We discuss them but do not quarrel.

"We recognise that we are comrades, though some are of the Right wing, others of the Left wing, and some have no wing at all. We all agree we have a spot of work to do."

"If the Labour Movement generally were as united as we are there, it would do great things."

"Some of us speak differently from others; there is nothing wrong in that. Truth is many sided, but we must be bound together with the same fundamental ties."

"The Labour Party represents the Co-operatives, the Trade Union, and the Socialist Movements, and no one in sympathy with any of the three needs to be shut out." (*Daily Herald*, July 22, 1935.)

The Communist Party gives its reply to these two speeches, and believes that its action corresponds with the desire of large sections of workers organised in the Labour Party, Trades Union Congress and Co-operative Party, who are sincerely desirous of removing any remaining obstacle towards developing a fighting united front against the attacks of the employers and the National Government, and in defence of all existing democratic rights and the preservation of peace. The Communist Party declares it is prepared to at once open up discussions with the Labour Party as to how unity in the Labour Movement in Britain can be achieved.

The Communist Party does not believe that Socialism can be achieved through Parliament, and will always state this standpoint in its agitation and propaganda and will always maintain its international connections with working class parties in other countries which maintain the revolutionary point of view. In fact the establishment of Fascism in Germany, and in other countries, together with the victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union, is convincing more and more workers in Britain that the revolutionary way is the only correct one. No party or federation which *excludes* sections of the working class which hold these views can claim to be a united front organisation, embracing all the working class.

If, however, the Labour Party is prepared to accept revolutionary organisations as affiliated bodies—a step which we believe will be welcomed by the whole working class—then the Communist Party will be definitely prepared to affiliate with the Labour Party. This would be a big step forward to achieving the unity of the working class forces in Britain.

Such a widening of the Labour Party would be in accordance with the earlier traditions of the Labour Party and would unify all forces and activity and immediately strengthen the whole fight against the National Government.

Within this common front, and on this basis, the Communist Party will loyally carry out all decisions and campaigns that advance

the interests of the working class, and in which we have fully participated in working out. The Communist Party will demonstrate by the character of its work in the factories and working class localities its irrevocable and sincere determination to make every possible effort to secure the unification of the working class forces in Britain, against the National Government, Fascism and War. The past record of the Communist Party in the working class struggle is the best guarantee that it will fulfil this pledge.

We believe that the measures we have here outlined constitute the character of the united front tactics in the present stage of the fight that should be carried out by the Communist Party of Great Britain, and can become the first step towards a *united mass political party of the working class* in Britain, and make a substantial strengthening of all those forces in the world fighting against Fascism and War.

The United Front Tactics as a Whole

These are therefore the political reasons why we bring forward our present proposals. Summing up, what do they mean?

That the Communist Party assumes the initiative and leadership in the organisation of the struggle against the National Government, and against Fascism and War. That it already feels strong enough to make proposals that will receive a wide response throughout the British Labour Movement and that are aimed at removing every obstacle placed in the way of mass united action by the Labour leaders.

They are proposals that represent the continuation and extension of our slogan: "Class against Class!" in the conditions of the existing world situation in general, and of Britain in particular.

But the complete realisation of the objectives outlined, and the building up of this united front struggle, depends upon the revolutionary leadership and political role of the Communist Party at every stage of the fight. It depends especially on our being able to overcome the resistance of the Labour leaders to our united front proposals, by the way we can win the local Labour Parties, trade union branches, trades councils, and co-operative guilds for united action on the basis of the proposals and programme we have set out.

To those who may be apt to argue that in our aim to build up the united front "we are going too far," "that we are compromising our revolutionary principles," "that we are tailing behind the reformist leaders," it is necessary to say two things.

First, the Communist Party is not a select propagandist sect, it is *the political party of the working class, giving revolutionary leadership to the working class struggle in every phase of activity and in accordance with the concrete situation and relation of class forces,*

linking its fight for the workers' immediate interests with its fundamental aim—the revolutionary conquest of power, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of Socialism in Britain.

Firstly:—

The Communist Party is to-day putting forward a policy and proposing the organisational measures to carry it out, that advance the whole working class fight against the attacks of the ruling class and its National Government. Measures that can make decisive steps forward to the early realisation of Socialism in Britain. It is the only working class policy that any honest worker can accept.

Our tactics, our lead, our policy must be shaped according to the concrete situation. To-day they are designed to extricate the working class from the position in which it has been placed by Social Democracy. In the carrying out of the tasks indicated, the Communist Party in no way sinks its independence, or ceases from popularising its revolutionary programme.

On the contrary, it reveals itself to the masses as a Party which understands how and when to make a change in tactics that strengthens the whole character of the working class struggle and brings before it an entirely new perspective for revolutionary struggle and advance.

Secondly:—

Can any worker be unmoved at the horrors of German Fascism and the tortures, the suffering, and the destruction of all forms of cultural advance that it has brought to the German people? Hitler Germany to-day is the danger spot in Europe from the point of view of unleashing another bloody war, especially directed against the fortress of world revolution—the Soviet Union!

Is it not clear that the Labour Party leaders are hiding the Fascist danger in Britain from the workers? Is it not the duty of the Communist Party to approach the honest workers of the Labour Party and tell them the truth about this danger, arouse their vigilance and transform their anti-Fascist feeling into a fighting power? Let every worker reflect on the horrors of the last war, and the fact that to-day science and invention are prostituted only to one end—that of making the next war more terrible still. And is there any honest worker who does not feel in his very bones that anything that can be done to repel and retard these twin monsters, Fascism and War, must be done, and will be done by the Communist Party?

WIDENING THE UNITED FRONT

The Communist Party of Great Britain now has the duty of bringing together in a people's front every section of the working class movement, the agricultural workers and all sections of the in-

telligentsia and professional classes, in fact all people who hate Fascism and fear War, to join up in a common struggle against any further worsening of economic conditions and against Fascism and War.

In this connection the Communist Party must utilise every means to organise the widespread opposition to war that exists in Britain so strikingly seen in the recent Peace Ballot, where in one form or another 11 million people expressed their opposition to war. Undoubtedly a similar result could be obtained in any similar organised vote against Fascism.

Every political organisation in Great Britain is now angling to win the support of these 11 million people in order to abuse their desire for peace and divert it to the politics of the various organisations concerned. The National Government, Lloyd George in his Peace and Reconstruction Movement, the Labour Party, all are busy on the job.

The Communist Party alone can give real leadership to this Peace Movement and help it realise its objective of preventing war. The Communist Party must by its sympathetic understanding of the aims, desires, hopes and fears of those who took part in this Peace Ballot, be able to win political leadership over the masses in the Peace Movement, and draw them into the political struggle against the whole policy of the National Government, a policy which leads towards German Fascism and War.

There may now be attempts to show that the slogan of "Class against Class" was wrong and that this is the justification of all those inside and outside the ranks of the Communist International who opposed the decisions of the 9th Plenary Session of the Executive, and of the 6th Congress of the Communist International.

On the contrary, these decisions were not only correct but they enabled a turn to be made in the work of the Communist Parties that prevented the submergence of certain parties into appendages of Left Social Democracy. It brought out more clearly and sharply the independent role of the political line of the Communist Parties; strengthened and increased the process of Bolshevisation within the Communist Parties; strengthened the fight against the Right danger as the main danger within the Parties at the same time as it struck against Left sectarianism, which would have placed the Communist Party in complete isolation from the masses.

The whole line of the 9th Plenum and the 6th Congress placed the Communist Parties in such a position that when the international situation changed, the years of economic crisis and depression of a special kind, developed them, so that they were able to change their tactical line in relation to the requirements of the situation in such a way as strengthened the whole working class movement in its

struggle against the economic crisis and the menace of war, and led to the growth and influence of the membership of the Communist Parties in the present situation. The united front tactics of the Communist International as outlined in Comrade Dimitroff's report and the resolution now before the Congress are extensions of the slogan "Class against Class" that strengthen the united class front of the workers and also win valuable sections for the struggle from the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie. Innumerable examples could be given to prove this statement. It is only necessary to give two.

Who would dare to say that as a result of the united front tactics the French Communist Party has not greatly increased the influence of Communism and working class forces working for the revolutionary class of power? The united front tactics in France have not only stemmed the advance of Fascism, they have strengthened the whole working class fight against every phase of capitalism and won big sections of the petty bourgeoisie away from their old political traditions, policies and methods of struggle. When 800,000 of the Paris population march united under the banner of the united front, it is a mighty movement, and it shows that the French Communist Party will soon lead the workers to the storming of the Bastille of French imperialism as a whole.

In Britain a united movement swept the country in January-February against the Unemployment Act and led to unprecedented events in South Wales, Sheffield and Glasgow, it forced the National Government to make important concessions to the unemployed. This could not have been carried through and the Communist Party would not have been leading the forces without the line of class against class laid down at the 9th Plenum and the 6th Congress. The whole working class movement has been strengthened, its class-consciousness deepened, many illusions destroyed, deeper understanding created of the whole fight and political issues involved. Thousands of workers previously hostile to Communism have now been won over to the Communist Parties.

These are the unquestionable facts that demonstrate the correctness of our present tactics, strengthen the line of class struggle and increase our revolutionary perspectives.

CONCLUSION

In the realisation of all these tactical tasks for the development of a broad mass front, especially in Britain, against Fascism and War, and for the widest mobilisation for the future battles, the Communist Party must hold clearly before its eyes at every stage of the fight the perspective of the approaching world revolutionary crisis. It must, in its propaganda, increasingly prepare the masses for these future struggles and popularise the slogan of Soviet Power, thus

combining our basic revolutionary line and leadership with the immediate urgent task of the mobilisation of the widest mass united front against the menace of Fascism and War.

The whole of the Communist Parties affiliated to the Communist International in the capitalist countries must constantly remember in the carrying out of the 7th Congress resolution, the words of Comrade Dimitrov in his article: "The Struggle for the United Front," where he states:

"While fighting for the formation of the united proletarian front, the Communists must not for a moment lose sight of their revolutionary perspective, must be able to link up the tactics of the united front with the strategic task—the struggle for the victory of the proletarian revolution, for the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The British delegation declares that the report of Comrade Dimitrov and the resolution before the Congress on the "United front tactics against the offensive of fascism" is one of the most important statements of policy since the 2nd Congress of the Communist International in 1920.

The Manifesto calling the 2nd Congress in 1920, was addressed to all "Honest Workers"; this resolution of the 7th Congress will find an immediate response from every honest worker in the International Labour Movement.

Never was the Communist International so well equipped as now to carry this resolution into practice.

United Bolshevik Communist Parties, steeled in revolutionary struggle and inspired by the dauntless heroism of revolutionary workers all over the world. Strengthened by the mighty triumphs of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

We must and will conquer. The report of Comrade Dimitrov and the decisions of the 7th Congress of the Communist International point the way.

The decisions of the 7th Congress of the Communist International place the key to victory in our hands.

We pledge ourselves on behalf of the Communist Party of Great Britain, before this historical 7th Congress of the Communist International, that we will mobilise every member and unit of the Communist Party of Great Britain for the fulfilment of our tasks and responsibilities to the international proletariat and the Communist International as a whole.